

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 056582
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AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR ONLY; WH FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-3

TAGS: RH, PFOR

SUBJECT: MUZOREWA'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH IAN SMITH

1. SUMMARY:

MUZOREWA'S REPRESENTATIVE, STANLAKE SAMKANGE, TOLD US ON MARCH 9 THAT HE, ON THE BISHOP'S BEHALF, WILL BEGIN SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH IAN SMITH AND WILL PROPOSE A SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 056582

REFERENDUM FOR THE CHOICE OF A LEADER FOR AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. ALL NATIONALIST PARTIES WOULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE AND INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION WOULD BE SOUGHT. FURTHER ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD TO SELECT THE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION ABOUT 18 MONTHS FROM THE DATE OF THE REFERENDUM. MUZOREWA DOES NOT KNOW IF SMITH WILL ACCEPT HIS PROPOSAL WHICH IS A SUBSTANTIAL

DEPARTURE FROM SMITH'S CALL FOR A REFERENDUM AMONG RHODESIAN AFRICANS TO SELECT A SINGLE NEGOTIATOR. WE QUESTIONED STANLAKE CLOSELY AND CRITICALLY AND GAVE NO INDICATION OF SUPPORT, WE INTEND TO KEEP OUR DISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. PROFESSOR STANLAKE SMAKANGE CALLED ON SCHAUFLELE MARCH 9 TO DELIVER A MESSAGE FOR THE SECRETARY. SAMKANGE

SAID THAT BISHOP MUZOREWA IS UNDER "IRRESISTABLE" PRESSURE FROM HIS CONSTITUENCY TO MAKE A FURTHER MOVE AND ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMITH. THROUGH SAMKANGE, MUZOREWA WILL PROPOSE SECRETLY TO SMITH THAT A REFERENDUM BE ORGANIZED IN RHODESIA ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE. THE PURPOSE OF THE REFERENDUM WILL BE TO SELECT A LEADER FOR AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. ALL PARTIES TO THE RHODESIAN DISPUTE WILL BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE AND BASED ON THE OUTCOME OF THE REFERENDUM AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ORGANIZED.

3. IMPARTIAL AND INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION WILL BE SOUGHT AND IN THIS REGARD BRITAIN COULD BE ASKED TO PLAY A ROLE. IF SMITH PRESENTED HIMSELF AS A CANDIDATE AND WON THE ELECTION, THE BISHOP WOULD BE PREPARED TO SERVE IN HIS ADMINISTRATION, ON THE AGREEMENT THAT FULL MAJORITY RULE WOULD COME ABOUT 18 MONTHS AFTER THE REFERENDUM HAD BEEN HELD. SAMKANGE SPECULATED THAT SMITH'S SUPPORT FROM THE TRIBAL CHIEFS MIGHT GIVE HIM A STRONGER ELECTORAL POSITION THAN WE MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 056582

THOUGHT.

4. THE PROPOSAL FOR A REFERENDUM IS BEING CLOSELY HELD WITHIN MUZOREWA'S CAMP. IT WAS DISCUSSED WITH THE BISHOP'S CLOSEST COLLABORATORS IN GENEVA ON MARCH 3-4, BUT HAS NOT BEEN CONSIDERED BY MUZOREWA'S FULL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. IF SMITH RESPONDS POSITIVELY, THE IDEA WILL BE BRIEFED IN GREATER DETAIL. THE BISHOP, HOWEVER, ANTICIPATES NO INTERNAL OPPOSITION.

5. SCHAUFLELE ASKED SAMKANGE WHAT HE THOUGHT WERE THE POSSIBILITIES OF SMITH ACCEPTING THE BISHOP'S PROPOSAL. SAMKANGE SAID NEITHER HE NOR THE BISHOP HAVE ANY INDICATION OF WHAT SMITH'S POSITION WOULD BE. THE BISHOP WANTS TO PROVE HIS SINCERITY TO SMITH. SAMKANGE WILL TELL SMITH THAT MUZOREWA, IF ELECTED, WILL PICK THE BEST QUALIFIED RHODESIAN, BLACK OR WHITE, TO HEAD THE SECURITY FORCES. IF SMITH TRIED TO GO BACK ON AN AGREEMENT WITH MUZOREWA, HE WOULD ONLY DO SO FROM A GREATLY

WEAKENED POSITION. SMITH MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO ACCEPT MUZOREWA'S OFFER. HE WOULD BE ABLE TO SAY THAT HE HAD ACHIEVED HIS "INTERNAL SOLUTION". THE BISHOP WAS IMPRESSED BY SMITH'S RECENT WRITTEN ACCEPTANCE OF MAJORITY RULE IN TWO YEARS.

6. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT MUGABE'S, NKOMO'S AND SITHOLE'S REACTION, SAMKANGE THOUGHT THAT THEY WOULD

BE IN A DIFFICULT POSITION IF THEY RESISTED A REFERENDUM BASED ON ONE MAN, ONE VOTE. IF MUGABE AND NKOMO CONTINUED ARMED RESISTANCE, THEY WOULD FACE AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT, WHOSE MORAL AND PHYSICAL POSITION WOULD BE UNASSAILABLE. THE GUERRILLAS WOULD BE INVITED TO RETURN TO RHODESIA AND JOIN THE NATIONAL ARMY AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM. ACCORDING TO SAMKANGE, THE BISHOP HAD RECEIVED WORD FROM GUERRILLAS IN MOZAMBIQUE THAT THEY ARE READY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 056582

TO SUPPORT HIS GOVERNMENT.

7. SCHAUFLE ASKED SAMKANGE WHAT BRITAIN'S POSITION WOULD BE IF MUZOREWA'S PROPOSAL WAS ATTACKED BY THE OTHER NATIONALISTS AND THE FRONT LINE STATES. SAMKANGE ARGUED BRITAIN WOULD BE UNDER A MORAL OBLIGATION TO ASSIST IN A PROCESS WHICH PROVIDED FOR FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS. BRITAIN COULD NOT EXPECT ALL PARTICIPANTS AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BE GIVEN THE RIGHT OF VETO. THE TRUE TEST WOULD COME DURING THE ELECTION. THE FRONT LINE STATES COULD NOT LOGICALLY OPPOSE THE BISHOP'S PLAN. THEY WOULD BE SEEN TO BE INTERFERING IN RHODESIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND, IN LIGHT OF THEIR RECENT SETBACK WITH OTHER AFRICANS ON THE ISSUE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THEY WOULD MOVE CAUTIOUSLY. SAMKANGE SAID THE BISHOP WOULD INSIST ON THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL NATIONALISTS. HE DID NOT SAY MUZOREWA WOULD INSIST ON OTHER PRECONDITIONS.

8. SCHAUFLE ASKED SAMKANGE IF THE BISHOP WOULD ADVANCE OTHER PRECONDITIONS IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMITH--SPECIFICALLY, ACCESS TO THE MEDIA AND AN AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS. SHOULD SMITH AGREE TO THE MUZOREWA FORMULA, I ASKED WHETHER THE BISHOP OR SMITH WOULD MAKE THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. SAMKANGE REPLIED THAT THE BISHOP WOULD NOT WANT SMITH TO MONOPOLIZE POLITICAL CREDIT.

9. SCHAUFLE TOLD SAMKANGE THAT THE PROPOSAL WAS INTERESTING AND THAT HE WOULD DISCUSS IT WITH THE SECRETARY. SAMKANGE DID NOT PRESS FOR A RESPONSE. SCHAUFLE REMINDED SAMKANGE THAT WE HAVE SOUGHT A

NEGOTIATED SOLUTION BETWEEN ALL PARTIES AND ANTICIPATED ELECTIONS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. HE SAID WE WOULD HAVE TO GIVE THE BISHOP'S PROPOSAL CAREFUL STUDY.

10. COMMENT:

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 056582

THE BISHOP LOOKS TO BE IN A HURRY AND APPEARS WILLING TO RUN ALL THE RISKS AN ASSOCIATION WITH SMITH OFFERS. WE

ARE FAR FROM CERTAIN THAT SMITH WILL ACCEPT HIS PROPOSAL, AND ARE CERTAIN THAT THE RESULT WILL BE SHARPLY ATTACKED BY THE OTHER NATIONALISTS AND THE FRONT LINE STATES. WE WILL KEEP OUR DISTANCE.

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